1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

The Tongans believe that the dead have the ability to cause the sudden death of anyone. I have known many instances in which a person has dreamed of a dead relative several times in succession and, as a means of stopping it and preventing the dead from killing the living, has gone to the graveyard and dug up the bones, in some cases whilst there was still flesh upon them, and thrown them into the sea, or chopped them up. This method is looked upon as infallible.

When a man is taken ill his sons go as far away as possible, until he is dead, so that the disease will not attack them. The house and bed he died in are usually burned and the sons coming after will not walk over the spot for fear of infection! Anyone else may do so with impunity.

Food carried over a graveyard, as by a small child who did not realize what he was doing, was not eaten, as death or other dire results would ensue.

OATHS

An oath (*fuakava*) was also called *lea tuki* (*lea*, speech; *tuki*, a superstitious practice by which thieves and other miscreants are said to be accursed), according to Baker (2). Apparently Baker refers to the administering of an oath, which, if taken by a thief, would result in his death. The conception of the oath seems to be ancient, and the idea is quite deep-seated that swearing falsely results in death.

While I was in Tonga a gold finger ring was lost in a girls' boarding school. Inquiry failing to locate it, the girls suggested that they be put on oath, preferably by the police, for then if the thief were one of themselves and took oath, she would die. Presumably, however, she could have averted such a fate by confession.

The Bible is at times used in sealing a pact, often between a man and a woman. "They hold the book," as the Tongans express it. Such a pact is called *puke tohi*. It is frowned upon by the clergy and in general is regarded as a wrong deed, which may act as a curse upon the families of the book holders.

Examples of oaths occur in certain Tongan poems. "Lest my mother be sterile" is put in the mouth of the Samoan chief Sinilau (26, p. 148). The poet Fusitouone sings: "Listen while I swear by the bamboo that waves."

TAPU

In Tonga, as elsewhere in Polynesia, distinction is made between things inherently tapu, such as sanctuaries and the persons of chiefs, and things which are temporarily tapu, such as food products reserved for a feast. Temporary tapus may be placed by a chief, by a priest, or by a modern practitioner skilled in curing as well as "causing" certain ailments. Tapus placed by chiefs seem to have been backed by no supernatural sanction. Tapus placed by a priest called for the vengeance of a god upon the tapu

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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539 103 **334. Nukualofa fakahekeheke:** Flattering Nukualofa.

The name Nukualofa, applied today to the large village which is the capital of the modern Kingdom of Tonga, had formerly a much more restricted application. Speaking generally, however, it is said that this part has been called successively by the names Maufanga, Navua, Nukualefa, and Nukualofa. Of the last two, Nuku-alefa means Hungry-place, and Nuku-alofa, Kindly-place. Flattering Nukualofa is used derisively with the imputation that the expression of "Kindly-place" is mere flattery used to procure food for Hungry-place.

539 484 505 **335. Taka Tongatapu tae i Eua:** Going about in Tongatabu without being in Eua.

The island of Eua although close to Tongatabu is inconveniently situated for coming and going with the prevailing winds; the trip one way is frequently easy but sometimes several days elapse before a sailing boat can make the return passage. Consequently comparatively few people visit Eua. One may live for years in Tongatabu or a stranger may go through Tongatabu from end to end and yet not include Eua in his itinerary. (See Nos. 350 and 352.)

539 787 **336. Toka i Maananga:** Lying (beforehand) in Maananga.

Maananga is the name of the home of the chief Loau who plays so great a part in Tongan legend. He was a seer who resting quietly at home was able to see all that was going on elsewhere, or at least a great deal of it. People might purpose to carry out a project and set to work on it, but it was all known to the chief in Maananga, the whole thing lay exposed [779] to view in Maananga. This expression, written as one word, is commonly used of omniscience in Christian worship.

539 823 **337. Tonga mounga ki he loto:** Tonga's mountain is in its heart.

This is said to be the reply of the Tongatabu people to the people of Haapai and Vavau, when taunted with having no mountain in their island. [873] The phrase has been very happily adopted by the late Rev. Dr. Moulton as the motto of the Tubou College, of which he was the founder. Dr. Moulton has of course applied its brave language to the whole of the Tongan group, inclusive of Haapai and Vavau. If this account of the origin of the 539 133 expression be correct it bears interesting testimony to the isolation of Eua 823 from Tongatabu. Eua is not as high as Tofua or Kao, the two mountain- 186 ous islands of Haapai, but it is certainly very high land in Tonga and is 184 much closer to Tongatabu than Tofua and Kao are to the main part of the Haapai group, which is in general very low. Moreover, the population of Eua has probably always been greater than that of Tofua and Kao. The people of Eua, although only a few hours' sail under favorable conditions from Tongatabu seem in general to have lived a life of their own, though by no means one always of peaceful monotony.

539 484 829 261 **338. Uakai pea alu ki Fuaamotu:** Hungry, then go to Fuaamotu.

Fuaamotu is a village in the eastern part of Tongatabu, a place that to a great number of the inhabitants of Tongatabu seems and actually is

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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is, moreover, held in awe by the Commons, for "Tungi ne montre jamais le fond du sac," as one of the French priests said of him. He is followed by Mr W——, the Pontifex Maximus of Tonga, clad in decent black, and wearing an expression of deprecating piety. He is to earn to-day his stipend as Royal Chaplain, an item that has received the anxious attention of the Cabinet, to whom a retrenchment of £100 a-year is of importance. He gives out a hymn, the member for Vavau, who forms the choir, bellows the tune, while the rest follow him two octaves lower pianissimo. The House shades its eyes with its hand, while the prelate wrestles in prayer and discreetly withdraws. There is a pause. Then Mataka, the chief clerk (who, by the way, is still supposed to be undergoing imprisonment for flirting with the fair Lobase), calls the roll. The new members are now to take the oath. The ceremony is imposing until the turn of the two Roman Catholic members arrives. They object to be sworn upon the Protestant Bible, and a clerk runs in haste for a version of the Bible translated into Tongan by the Roman Catholics. He returns with a thick shiny-covered book, which the two members kiss cheerfully. I examined it afterwards, and

The clerk of the Parliament.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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stitutions. If their young men wanted excitement, there was Fiji: there they might have their fill of war and rapine, but in Tonga they must obey the chiefs set over them by the gods or brave the consequence of the broken *tabu*. In those days no Tongan had dared to test the belief. It was not a superstition. They had seen men die whom they knew to have infringed a *tabu*, and others, cursed by some enemy, had withered away before their eyes. Thus was royal authority strengthened by physical fear—ever the strongest influence with the mob.[1]

For sixty years the land was at peace. They built great tombs for their chiefs, and turned the islands into vast gardens, so that there was abundance, and rich portions of the first-fruits were presented to the gods. Then Moungatonga, the Tui Haatakalaua, took the Samoan woman Tohuia to wife, and when her son Ngata grew to manhood, Moungatonga grew wearied with the weight of authority, and charged him with the dominion of the people, while he withdrew himself into the honoured obscurity of rank without power. The new temporal king took his title from the sacred soil of Kanokubolu

[1] Now that the bugbear of the *tabu* has been put to flight before the light of Christianity, they have preserved the belief in a changed form. They believe that he who swears falsely, after kissing the Bible, must die. In 1886 a house was burned down by an incendiary, and before the courts could interfere, all the villagers met together for a trial by ordeal. A Bible was brought, and each person took a solemn oath that he or she was innocent of the crime. They took no interest in the judicial inquiry, feeling sure that the culprit would die within a few weeks. Not long afterwards an elderly woman named Ana began to sicken and refuse her food. She grew rapidly worse, and at last confessed that, in a fit of jealousy, she had set fire to the house of her rival. Her end was hastened by the warnings of her relations that if she was guilty of perjury she had no chance of recovery. She was fairly frightened to death.

40: Moulton M-4,5 (ca.1880-1920)
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771 spiritual development, as represented by their old religion, was low. Their pantheon was a medley, and their theology unredeemed by any gleams of philosophy as in the religion of India.

776 2. The gods of Tonga may be divided into three classes.

779 (1) In common with other parts of Polynesia, their great gods comprise the two groups of the Tangaloa and the Maui (pronounced Mow-y: Mow as in *now*). The *Tangaloa* were the earlier group, and consisted of Tangaloa 'Eiki ('Lord Tangaloa,' or 'Tangaloa the Elder'), Tangaloa Tufunga ('Tangaloa the Smith, Carpenter, or Artificer,' who made axes and built canoes), and Tangaloa 'Atulongolongo ('Tangaloa the Sender-forth-of-sound'). The *Maui* group consisted of five persons: Maui Motu'a ('Old Maui,' or 'Maui the Father'), Maui Loa ('Maui the Tall'), Maui Buku ('Maui the Short'), and Maui 'Atalanga ('Maui the Vigorous Planter'). This last had a son called Maui Kijikiji (pronounced Kitsikitsi: 'Maui the Violent, the Mischievous'), who was, of course, the grandson of Maui Motu'a.

There were, however, older gods than any of these. One was called Tama-bo'uli-ala-mafoa ('Son-of-the-Darkness-that-can-have-a-dawn'). Some accounts represent him as the original deity. Another of the primitive gods was 'Eitu-matubu'a (''Eitu-of-the-olden-time'). He is spoken of as the father of the Tongan people. Another of these gods was Hikule'o, the Tongan Satan. *Hikule'o* means 'the echo,' and there is no doubt that this was the original signification of the name; but as it *might* mean 'Watching Tail,' the legend grew up that the tail of this deity was so long that when he, the god, went about, the tail kept watch at home. But even now the Tongans, when they [822] hear an echo, say it is Hikule'o walking in the woods; and the other explanation was evidently an afterthought.

These with others were the original gods of Tonga. By and by a division of departments took place. To the Tangaloa was assigned the Sky (or Heaven); to the Maui group the Under World; and to Hikule'o the World and Bulotu (Hades). But in order to keep Hikule'o in his place, as he was a god that delighted in mischief, a cord was attached to him, one end of which was held by Tangaloa in the sky, and the other by a Maui in the under world, to prevent his leaving Bulotu to damage the world. This division was effected by an older god than any, namely, Tuufulifonua ('Frequent-Upsetter-of-the-land'), who also assigned the sea to Hemoana, and the woods and dry land generally to Lube (the Dove). Hemoana's name is sometimes pronounced Heimoana, and the present writer *believes* that Tongavalevale spoke of him as Hea-Moana, though he is unable to speak positively on that point. *Hea-Moana* would signify 'Hea-of-the-deep-sea'; *Hemoana* would be simply 'the Deep [778] Sea' = Oceanus. His shrine was the banded sea-snake. These were the Olympian gods of Tonga; but, with the exception of Hikule'o, they were rarely worshipped, and few if any temples were [782] erected in their honour. The exception is due to the fact that Hikule'o was a mischievous god, and must therefore be propitiated.

776 778 779 (2) The second class of gods were an inferior race, who had their shrines in animals, birds, fishes, trees, whales' teeth, clubs, and even stones. Yet these were the gods worshipped by the people, and their temples were to be found in every village. Here are a few of them: Tu'i 'Ahau ('King of the town of 'Ahau'), whose shrine was a volcanic stone of peculiar shape; Tu'i Lalotonga ('King of Rarotonga,' or perhaps of the world below Tonga), whose shrine was the dragon-fly; Taliai Tubou (the god of the reigning dynasty while yet heathen),

40: Moulton M-4,5 (ca.1880-1920)
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whose shrine was a shark [Mariner renders *Taliai Tubou* by 'Wait there, Tubou,' which is certainly incorrect; Taliai Tubou was probably the name of a king]; Bulotu Katoa (the Pleroma of the Spirit World, who presided over hurricanes, and agriculture), whose shrine, we think, was a tree at Kolonga [Mariner mentions several the present writer has never heard of: Tubou Toutai ('Tubou the Mariner'; Tubou is the familiar designation of the king, and one of his family is usually called Tubou Toutai); Hala'evalu ('Eight Ways'; also the name of a chief); 'Alo'alo ('the Fanner'), the god of wind and weather, rain, harvest, and vegetation; Tu'i Bulotu ('King of the Spirit World')]. Other gods resided in the turtle, the cuttle-fish, the kingfisher, etc. Fonokitangata's shrine was a war-club. These were, so to speak, the private gods of the people, and the shrine of each was tabu to its worshippers. Thus the people of Te'ekiu were forbidden to eat the octopus, that being the shrine of their god. In the neighbouring villages, however, it would be freely eaten. In Nomuka one particular family were thus debarred from eating turtle, while the rest of the town were free to partake of that delicacy.

(3) In addition to these there were a number of supernatural beings whose position in the Tongan pantheon is not clear. They were looked upon as gods, and the term expressive of highest deity was applied to them; but they were never worshipped, nor were temples built to them. On the contrary, they were looked upon with contempt, and their follies freely portrayed and laughed at. It is curious to see these ascriptions of high divinity and expressions of contempt standing side by side. Is it that these were the gods of the inferior race which the Tongans found in the group when they landed?

Take an instance or two. Jiji and Faiga'a were two goddesses in this class, who had set their affections on a Tongan of great masculine beauty called Bajikola. He, tired of their attentions, plaited two large baskets of cocoa-nut leaves, put one goddess in each, and, shouldering them like a Chinaman, conveyed them into the bush, and hung them on the branch of a tree, and left them there for two years, until the baskets rotted, and they fell to the ground. They made another attempt on his affections, and he finally got rid of them by inveigling them into his fish traps, and leaving them at the bottom of the sea, where they lay until Tangaloa took pity on them, and sent a god to release them. Take another instance. In this case also it was two goddesses, who set out to meet a mortal lover. While waiting for him, they took off their heads to dress their hair. Suddenly his footsteps were heard, and they put their heads on again; but in the hurry one of them put hers on hind before; and when she attempted to move, her face went one way and her legs another. It is extremely puzzling to meet with tales like these, referring to those to whom the titles of highest deity are given: and yet, after all, they do but recall the vagaries of the Olympian deities as described by Homer, when

'Unextinguished laughter shook the skies.'

On the subject of ancestor-worship, Mariner speaks positively (vol. ii. p. 97): 'That there are other Hotooas or gods, viz. the souls of all deceased nobles and matabooles.' The present writer was disposed to agree with him at first, especially as it was a custom of the people to go to the cemeteries to pray, even after a sacrifice had been presented at the temple. But further inquiry has convinced him that they did so because they fancied themselves nearer the spirit-world in such places. Intelligent chiefs like Valu, who were acquainted with heathenism, are equally positive in the other direction, and deny that they looked upon the spirits of deceased chiefs as gods. We think the truth lies between the two statements, and that Mariner himself gives us a key to the solution of the question. In vol. i. p. 376, he speaks of Feenow as being frequently inspired by the spirit of Mumui (a late king of Tonga). Now we can readily understand that in such circumstances Feenow would pray to Mumui, and others would join him; so that in time Mumui would be

769 looked upon as a god. This would account for such gods as Tu'i Laiotonga, Tu'i 'Ahau, Taliai Tubou, and others. All the inquiries of the present writer negative the assertion that the spirits of chiefs as a general thing became gods. We may then look upon the gods of the first class as primitive, brought by the Tongans from their original home, and the third class as the gods of the aboriginals whom they conquered. The second class contained also some primitive gods, but was recruited largely from the spirits of ancestors—*i.e.* the spirits of certain deceased chiefs by whom kings and notable personages fancied themselves to have been possessed.

778 The other point the present writer made special
776 inquiries about was whether the Tongans wor-
779 shipped the clubs, whales' teeth, animals, trees,
[782] stones, etc., before which they placed their offerings, or the god who was supposed to be temporarily residing in them. The answer was decisive. The clubs, trees, etc., were simply the *vaka*, the god itself was spiritual. *Vaka* signifies a 'mode of conveyance,' usually a canoe, but also a carriage, or anything by which one is conveyed from place to place.

776 Probably we may see here a development of their
779 spiritual ideas. The oldest class—Tangaloa, Maui,
[178] Hemoana—were undoubtedly corporeal. Their bodies performed all the functions of human bodies, and they were inflamed with human passions. But the Tongans had long ceased to pray to them, and scarcely any vestiges of their worship remained when the missionaries came. The third class of
[178] gods, too, were corporeal, but there are no signs of worship being paid them at any time. These two classes existed side by side; but long before the introduction of Christianity both had been discarded as objects of worship, which was paid only to the second class. In other words, the Tongans had worked out a theology, which had, at any rate, this noble feature in it, that God was a spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit.

192 The general Tongan term for supernatural beings is *fa'ahikehe*.
776 This is often shortened into *fa'ahi*, and when the adjective *lahi*
779 ('great') is added—*fa'ahi lahi*—the idea conveyed is that of full
deity. *Fa'ahi* signifies properly 'a party,' 'a side' (as in cricket);
[114] or it may be short for *fa'ahinga* = 'kind,' 'class,' 'race,' 'species,'
'genus.' *Kehe* = 'other' (ἕτερος, not ἄλλος), so *fa'ahikehe* is 'different folk,' 'other kind of people.' The usual word for 'God' is 'Otua. Mariner spells it *Hotooa*, but there is no A in it. The inverted comma represents a guttural, a half *k*, which is one of the difficulties of the language. It is not readily recognised by the European ear, and is mostly neglected by foreigners, while being as intractable as the Ayin in Hebrew. The present writer has failed to find any derivation for 'Otua, or meaning other than 'God,' and believes it to be a primitive Polynesian word. In some parts of the Pacific it appears as *Atua*.

The other great word is *'Eiki* = 'Lord,' which is used as in English for both earthly and heavenly lords. Hence it is not so high a term as 'Otua. Indeed it seems sometimes to mean only 'supernatural.' Thus a corpse is called *Ae mate'a faka'eiki*, which apparently signifies 'a thing belonging to the spirit world.' Probably Mariner was thinking of this when he said (vol. ii. p. 130): 'The human soul after its separation from the body is termed *hotooa*, *i.e.* a god or spirit.' He is certainly wrong in that statement. It is clear that *'eiki* was not the original form of the word, which the laws of the language point out to have been *ikiki*.

776 We must not pass over the fact that the members
779 of one of the dynasties of kings were regarded as
643 gods. This was the earliest line of kings, and their title was *Tu'i Tonga* ('King of Tonga'). They were certainly looked upon as in some sense divine beings; and instances are on record of prayers
643 being offered to them. Words applied only to the
195 gods were used in addressing them; such as *'Ei*, already referred to, *ha'ele*, and *'afio*, used of the movements of deity. The face of the Tu'i Tonga was termed the 'sky,' and to him, as the representative of the gods, were presented the 'first-fruits.' This ceremony, called the *'inasi*, or 'portion,' is described by Mariner (vol. ii. p. 196). When
[764] a Tu'i Tonga died, he was said to be 'missing' (*hala*), and he was buried in a *ziggurat*, or pyramid

[p. 377-B]

40: Moulton M-4,5 (ca.1880-1920)
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782 Bulotu in their favour. Sometimes the priest would remain silent; at other times he would object that
782 their gifts were too small. If he spoke at all, he
793 spoke as the god, being supposed to be 'possessed'
[787] by the god at the moment. John Thomas says (Farmer's *Tonga*, 128): 'Often there was another person present, the friend of the god, who acted as mediator, and addressed the priest on behalf of the offerers.' Hingano, a chief lady of great age, described to the present writer how she and others would take baskets of food to the door of Taliai Tubou's temple in Nuku'alofa, and, bowing down, would implore the god's favour. Shortly a white (*sic*) foot would be protruded from beneath a curtain, which they would kiss and then retire.

782 If their object was to deprecate a calamity, as in a case of sickness, the rite assumed a darker hue. Fingers were cut off, wrapped in banana leaves, and presented; or children were strangled, and their bodies brought as a sacrifice. When prayers were offered to Fonokitangata, the sacrifice was
[793] always an adult. Generally a man obnoxious to the community was hunted down and killed, and his body brought in a basket and laid before the priest; but Mariner speaks of a chief of rank being killed in one instance. The offerers, clothed
782 in old and dirty mats, and wearing necklaces of
793 chestnut leaves, would squat on the ground at a distance, and weep and beat their breasts, while the priest, holding in his hand a war club, the shrine of the god, would listen to their prayers with his eyes fixed upon the club or upon the
793 ground. Sometimes he would reply in his ordi-
787 nary voice, but more often in unnatural tones, as if some one were speaking in him; and frequently he would begin to shake as if in a fit, and to roll about and foam at the mouth. Any words he might utter whilst in this condition were eagerly caught up as the direct utterances of the god. After a while the shaking would cease, and the priest, striking the ground with the club, would announce that the god had departed. Mariner (vol. i. p. 160) has a good description of this kind of possession; and he evidently thought that the phenomena were not altogether voluntary, but that a real possession of some kind took place—a belief which was shared by some of the earlier missionaries.

775 4. The Tongans believed in the immortality of
779 the soul. Mariner, Veeson, and Thomas are agreed on this point.

Veeson says (Farmer's *Tonga*, p. 131): 'One day they were conversing about a person that was lately dead, and said, "He goes to the island through the sky." "How can he be," said I, "in that place, when he is dead, and his body here? Did you not bury him some moons ago?" But all they answered was, "But he is still alive." And one took hold of my hand, and, squeezing it, said, "This will die, but the life that is within you will never die"—with his other hand pointing to my heart.'

775 Mariner and Veeson, too, agree in stating that
S65 this immortality is enjoyed only by the upper
779 classes: the souls of the Tu'as, or common people, die with their bodies. This, no doubt, was the belief of the upper classes, who looked down upon the Tu'as as little better than animals; but it is no evidence of the belief of the Tu'as themselves. Thomas says more truly: 'Of the faith of the common people there was no certainty.'

775 The 'island' referred to was called Bulotu, and
779 'through the sky' meant 'over the horizon.' Bulotu is, the present writer thinks, a primitive Polynesian word, and is the name for Paradise in all the dialects. It was situated west or north-west of Tonga, and could be reached by sea. At least the ballads speak of canoes touching there; but how the disembodied spirits got there is not stated. Mariner tells us (vol. ii. p. 101) that Bulotu was believed by the Tongans to be a large island, stocked with all kinds of useful and

40: Moulton M-4,5 (ca.1880-1920)
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775 779 ornamental plants in a state of high perfection, and that when these were plucked others would immediately occupy their place. The whole atmosphere was filled with a most delightful fragrance; there were also beautiful birds of all kinds, and abundance of hogs—all of which were immortal unless killed to provide food for the gods. At the moment a bird or a hog was killed, another living bird or hog came into exirtence. Further on he gives 775 another account of Bulotu brought by a canoe 779 which touched there:

539 'The crew landed, and proceeded to pluck some breadfruit; but to their unspeakable astonishment, they could no more lay hold of it than if it was a shadow. They walked through the trunks of trees, and passed through the substance of the houses without feeling any resistance. They at length saw some of the gods, who passed through the substance of their bodies as if there was nothing there.' The gods were supposed to have no canoes, not requiring them; 'for if they wished to be anywhere, there they are the moment the wish is felt.'

Now, is this again a development? For the ballads, which date from a time long antecedent to the visit of Mariner, give a very different de- 775 scription. According to them, everything in Bulotu was material. Its entrance was guarded 779 by a woman with eight tongues. There was a large canoe for the gods to voyage in, which was called Langotangata ('the human-rollered'), because it was dragged down to the sea on living rollers, each being a human being. The same trees grew as on earth: cocoa-nuts, breadfruit, yams, etc.; and provision was made for the favourite pastimes of chiefs. There were eminences for netting wood-pigeons, reefs for shark-catching, *'ulua* to be fished, and gigantic clams to be dived for. Ovens of food were cooked as on earth, and kava was prepared and drank. The houses had solid posts, and the roofs were constructed in the usual way. One of the halls in Bulotu was panelled with the pupils of men's eyes 'which sparkled and flashed.' The women had a hall lined with mirrors—a veritable crystal palace. There was a *Vaiola*, or Fountain of Life, whose waters were so potent that a child plunged into it grew up to manhood in a few days. There was also a *Vai-lolofafanga*, or Fountain of Perfumery, and other delights of women (see 'Voyage of Palmalie,' *Tubou College Magazine*, vol. iii. p. 39).

539 5. Cosmogony.—The earliest chapters of the Tongan genesis ran somewhat as follows:

Some seaweed and slime clung together, and were carried away by the sea, and washed up on the island of Totai in Bulotu. By and by there grew up between them a large metallic stone called Tou'iafutuna ('Pregnant-how-long-ago!'). Suddenly it began to shake, and sent out a sound like thunder; and, splitting, there sprang out a male and a female twin. The male was called Biki ('Sticky') and the female Kele ('Slimy'). Again the huge stone rolled about as if there was an earthquake, and other twins sprang out: the male called Atungaki (?), and the female Malmoa'alongona ('Vagaries-of-sound'). Again the stone groaned, and twins sprang out, called 'Land-turtle' and 'Sea-turtle.' Again the stone sounded and earthquaked, and twins sprang forth, Hemoana (the Sea-snake), and Lube (the Dove).

They grew up and married, *i.e.* the first pair and the second and the third. The eldest child of Biki and Kele was a son, Taufulifonua ('Frequent-overturner-of-the-land'[1]). The next was a girl called Havea-loloifonua (Haven-of-the-underworld'). The second pair had a girl called Vele Lahi, and the third pair a girl called Vele Ji'i. (*Vele* signifies 'longing' or 'desire': *Vele Lahi*='Desire the Elder,' *Vele Ji'i*='Desire the Younger'). Sticky and Slimy created a new land called Tonga Mama'o ('Distant Tonga'), and put on it Taufulifonua and Havea-loloifonua.

(The next incident is unprintable, but is a realistic setting of the words, 'And they were both naked, the man and his wife, and were not ashamed.' They were ignorant even of the sexual function, which they discovered only by accident. The result was a boy called Hikule'o ('the Echo,' the Tongan Satan: see above).)

Then Havea said to Vele Lahi and Vele Ji'i, 'Come and marry your brothers as I have done, for there is no man for you.' They did so, and Vele Lahi gave birth to the Tangaloas, and Vele Ji'i to the Maui family. Then Taufulifonua divided the heaven and earth as stated above.

In process of time the Tangaloas ordered Tangaloa 'Atulongolongo to go down and see in what condition the world was. So

[1] Tou is sometimes intensive. This would then mean 'complete-overturner.'

68: Cummins H-4 (no date) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

who loves its enemies—he therefore would not hear of any being put to death.[14]

A similar act of clemency was shown after the fall of the rebel stronghold at 'Uiha in 1833, when the resident missionary noted with pride: 'The business of reducing the people who have so long opposed, has been accomplished without loss of life. For which I am thankful.'[15] Thomas, in writing to the Committee about the changed state of affairs in Tonga, used a military image, pointing out that '*now* they are soldiers in the army of Jesus'.[16]

Undoubtedly Christian teaching played a significant role in introducing and inculcating the new attitudes and standards of behaviour. In the mission's extensive school system, which catered for adults as well as children, there was a frequent emphasis upon the importance of living in friendship and fellowship. 'Fellowship is a good thing' *Ko e Motua Lea* taught in two of its five lessons; hatred was a bad thing when directed towards other people, but men should hate lies and evil speaking. In this early book the Devil was the only enemy.[17] Other books taught love and forgiveness as part of the Christian ethic.[18] *Koe Tohi Ako* (The School Book), which contained the Lord's Prayer with its teaching on forgiveness, taught that a loving good natured attitude should be adopted 'to all people'.[19] The Catechism (*Fehui moe Tala*) approached this area by asking a question about man's responsibility to his fellows, to which the answer was given: 'Righteousness is to obey my parents, and be respectful to my relatives . . . do good, love and be forgiving to all people'.[20]

Biblical stories which illustrated the forgiving and loving virtues of Christianity were provided in Book 5, which contained the parables of the Good Samaritan, the Prodigal Son, and the Elder Brother.[21] These parables stressed the responsibility of Christians to show love, concern and forgiveness towards those who had wronged them. Book 10, a translation of the *Wesleyan Rules of Society*, urged members of society to avoid fighting, quarrelling and brawling, exhorting them instead to seek to do good to all men, especially those in need of any kind.[22] Above all else there was the constant theme of God's love for all men, made known to the world through

14 Peter Turner, Journal, 21 Aug. 1831, ML, B301.
15 James Watkin, Journal, 26 Mar. 1833, ML, A854.
16 Thomas to Secretaries, 17 Dec. 1831, WMMS Inward Correspondence (ANL, mf M143).
17 *Ko e Motua Lea* (Nuku'alofa 1831), p 3, lessons 1, 2 and 5.
18 See e.g. *Ko e Fehui mo e Tala Mei he Uluaki Folofola a e Otua* (Tongataboo Feb. 1834); *Ko e Gaahi Lesoni mei he Tohi Tabu* (Tongataboo June 1832).
19 *Ko e Tohi Ako* (Tongataboo, second ed. 1835), p 4, lesson ix.
20 *Ko e Fehui mo e Tala* (Tongataboo 1831), Section 5, Question 45.
21 *Ko e Gaahi lesoni eni mei he Tohi Tabu* (Tongataboo 1832), pp 3-4, 5-9.
22 *Ko e Akonaki ki he kakai Lotu Fehui* (Tongataboo 1834), p 2-3.

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the person of Jesus Christ.[23] At least one missionary devised a novel method of teaching against 'some of the prevailing evils and their consequences'. James Watkin's catechism, used on Sundays and almost certainly in the schools, included the following questions and answers:

Who are they who love war?
Answer: The true sons of the Devil.
Who are they that seek war?
Answer: Wild beasts thirsting for blood.[24]

Before 1833, therefore, there was nothing in missionary teaching to encourage a warlike spirit. In fact the reverse was true, and almost all the reading material used in school and church was designed to stimulate loving, forgiving, friendly relationships.[25] Cargill's view was that 'the prophecies of the Bible are being fulfilled. The heathen are forgetting the art of war, and learning the gospel of peace.'[26]

And yet the 30s saw a broadening and an intensification of opposition from the Tongatapu chiefs who had resisted the *lotu* (i.e. Christianity) from the beginning. The baptism, in the early 30s, of Tupou of Tonga, Tāufa'āhau of Ha'apai, and 'Ulukālala of Vava'u gave impetus to the anti-*lotu* party who began to persecute Christians and to disrupt services of worship. By January 1834 relations between the two parties became strained almost to breaking point, and Tāufa'āhau and a large band of warriors sailed to Tongatapu to support Tupou. Their arrival was awe-inspiring—some 50 large double canoes sailing to anchor, 'each one beating his lali'. Thomas was impressed: 'Such a sight has never been witnessed at Tonga for many years. Indeed I question whether Tonga ever witnessed such a scene since it was a land.'[27]

For almost a month the contingent from the north made a show of force for Tupou and Christianity and their presence ensured at least a momentary peace, although rumours of war were upon many lips. 'This island is quite a stir', wrote Thomas, 'and all the talk is about fighting with the king of the Vava'u and Haabai islands'.[28] Thomas was at the farewell kava ceremony before Tāufa'āhau sailed back to Ha'apai, and he could not help noticing the open parading of weapons. Tāufa'āhau had 'a large club and a gun'

[23] See lesson books nos 1-6.
[24] Watkin, Journal, 1 Dec. 1832, ML, A834.
[25] See e.g. Nathaniel Turner, *First Lessons in the Language of Tongataboo* (Sydney 1828); *Ko e Motua Lea* (Tongataboo 1831, 1834, 1840), reading lessons 1, 2 and 3.
[26] Cargill, Journal, 2 Oct. 1834, ML, A1817.
[27] Thomas, Journal, 27 Feb., 3, 30 Mar. 1834, ANL, mf M160. The *lali* referred to is a wooden drum.
[28] Ibid., 10 Mar. 1834.

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Nuku'alofa for the time being, and retire with his family to the safety of Ha'apai.[38] In the meantime revival continued in the north, bringing thousands into the church.

In this atmosphere of intense political and religious feeling the missionaries, through their schools, classes and sermons, introduced the Old Testament teachings of Jehovah's condemnation of heathens, idol worshippers and law breakers. These teachings were contained in five small booklets: one from Isaiah containing prophecies of doom to idol worshippers and apostates, two from I Samuel containing the story of Saul's battle with the opponents of his rule and the enemies of Jehovah, and two from Psalms, for the most part a series of Israelite war songs.[39]

The books from Samuel taught that Israelite kinship arose out of a fear that the enemies of Jehovah would over-run and conquer the chosen people.[40] It was to save his people from their enemies that Saul was chosen as Israel's first king. However, as the story of Saul illustrates, kingship was not without its enemies from within. Speaking of the views of opponents, the biblical writer tells how some said 'How shall this man save us?' These rebels, he continues, 'despised him, and brought him no presents'.[41] Apart from enemies within there were also external threats. Saul's solution, we read, was to declare war, with the result that 'he slew the Ammorites until the heat of the day', and as one of the booklets proclaims as its final words: 'The Lord delivered all the enemies into the hand of Israel'.[42]

The extract from Isaiah prophesies doom for the 'sinful nation' because they have 'forsaken the Lord, they have provoked the Holy One of Israel unto anger, they have gone backward . . . the whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint'.[43] Isaiah prophesies that disaster will fall upon those who refuse to be 'willing and obedient', whose land 'is full of idols' and who 'worship the work of their own hands'. These rebellious ones have 'cast away the Law of the Lord', and have 'despised the Holy One of Israel'[44]—a description that could be applied equally well to the heathen of Tonga. The tone of Isaiah is ruthless.

[38] Ibid.

[39] *Ko e Gashi Same a Tevita mei he Tohi Tabu*, No. 7 (Tongataboo Apr. 1833); *Ko e Uluaki Buka a Samiuela*, No. 12 (Tongataboo Apr. 1834); *Ko e Buka a e Balofite Ko Aisea*, No. 13 (Tongataboo May 1834); *I Samiuela*, No. 14 (Tonga Aug. 1834); *Ko e Same*, No. 15 (Tonga Oct. 1834). The decision to prepare these books was made at the District Meeting of 1832. Watkin Papers, ML, A1560.

[40] *I Samiuela*, No. 14, viii, 20; xi, 1-15.

[41] Ibid., x, 27. The biblical references quoted in this article are taken from the King James Version of the bible which was used by the missionaries in their translation work. The Tongan booklets were, almost without exception, literal translations of passages from this version.

[42] Ibid., xi, 11; xiv, 12.

[43] *Ko e Buka a e Balofite Ko Aisea*, i, 4-5.

[44] Ibid., ii, 8; v, 24.

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> Therefore is the anger of the Lord kindled against his people, and he hath stretched forth his hand against them, and hath smitten them . . . and their carcasses were torn in the midst of the streets. For all this his anger is not turned away, but his hand is stretched forth still . . . and in that day they shall roar against them like the roaring of the sea; and if one look unto the land, behold darkness and sorrow, and the light is darkened in the heavens thereof.[45]

Isaiah's message of doom is dramatically presented in his parable of the vineyard where the Lord decrees 'I will take away the hedge thereof, and it shall be eaten up; and break down the wall thereof, and it shall be trodden down: And I will lay it waste . . .'.[46] The teachings of the Isaiah booklet can perhaps best be summed up in some key words from the first chapter:

> If ye will be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land: but if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured by the sword: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.[47]

It is in the books from the Psalms, however, that the war theme is most explicitly and extensively taught. The two booklets contain the first 31 psalms, all of which follow, to a greater or lesser extent, the theme of destruction by war. The basic teaching is simple. Firstly it is taught that the heathen assume a threatening attitude towards Jehovah and his chosen ones:

> Why do the Heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing? The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord, and his anointed, saying: Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us.[48]

Secondly there is the affirmation that although there is a danger for those who follow Jehovah, they will nevertheless ultimately triumph over the heathen. The following extracts from Psalms ii and xviii are typical:

> Thou shalt break them with the rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potters vessel.
>
> It is God that avengeth me, and subdueth the people under me. He delivered me from my enemies; yea, thou liftest me up above those that rise up against me; thou hast delivered me from the violent men.[49]

A third and prominent theme is that victory will come to the followers of Jehovah through the annihilation of the heathen opposition. Psalm xviii illustrates this point of view more explicitly than many others:

[45] Ibid., v, 25, 30.
[46] Ibid., v, 5-6.
[47] Ibid., i, 19-20.
[48] *Ko e Gaahi Same a Tevita*, ii, 1-3. See also ii, iii, 6-7; v, 4, 10; viii; ix, 3-6.
[49] Ibid., ii, 9; xviii, 47-8. See also iv, 8; v, 11; vii, 1, 25.

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I have pursued mine enemies, and overtaken them: neither did I turn again until they were consumed. I have wounded them that they were not able to rise: they are fallen under my feet. . . . Thou hast given me the necks of mine enemies: that I might destroy them that hate me.[80]

Other elements in the theme are that Jehovah will give strength to the king and people to make war, and that rebellious subjects will be humbled and forced to submit to the king's rule.[81]

What emphasis the missionaries gave to these teachings in the day to day programme of the church and schools is not easy to determine. It is quite likely, however, judging from their writings, that they placed a good deal of stress upon them. During the unsettled years of the 30s they frequently chose texts for their sermons from Old Testament stories about war with the heathen. In December 1836 King George and his close relative and adviser, Ulakai, visited Thomas at Vava'u to discuss the best policy to be followed in what appeared to be the inevitable outbreak of war.[82] What passed between the missionary and the King was not recorded at the time, but in the weeks that followed Thomas preached on texts which told of the clash between Jehovah's chosen people and the heathen opposition. In an atmosphere of extreme excitement, becoming more inflamed daily by fresh reports of the determination of the heathen to wipe out the Christian population of Tongatapu, Thomas spent Saturday 7 January reading and expounding II Chronicles xx, 1-30.[83] In the light of subsequent events, the details of this chapter are significant. It tells the story of King Jehosophat and his victory, with the help of Jehovah, over concerted heathen opposition. Three themes emerge clearly from the narrative: the battle is the Lord's, his people do not have to fear, and the destruction of the heathen will be complete.[84]

The next day as a party of warriors was leaving Vava'u to join the forces in Tongatapu Thomas gave the chief supervising the expedition a copy of the sermon to be read or handed to King George on arrival in Tongatapu.[85] The chief and his party arrived in Tongatapu on Sunday, 8 January, and were able to reinforce King George's army for the impending encounter.

While Thomas was preaching victory for God's people in Vava'u the heathens of the fortress of Ngele'ia, little more than a mile from the Chris-

[80] Ibid., xviii, 34-42.
[81] *Ko e Same*, viii, 37-8.
[82] Thomas, Journal, 20-21 Dec. 1836, WMMS (ANL, mf M160).
[83] The morning service was devoted to reading and explaining verses 1-13 and the afternoon was taken up with an exposition of verses 14-30. See Thomas, Journal, 7 Jan. 1837, WMMS (ANL, mf M160).
[84] Thomas said he spent a lot of time reading and explaining this chapter to the people. See Thomas, ibid.
[85] Thomas, Journal, 6 Jan. 1837, WMMS (ANL, mf M160).

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tian stronghold of Nuku'alofa, were preparing to do battle. On Sunday 8 January while the Christians were at worship, the heathens attacked.[56] Token resistance was shown by the Christians on the sabbath, but this was followed up on the Monday by full scale retaliation. Ngele'ia was stormed. Its fortifications were razed, its buildings burned to the ground, 20 of its inhabitants killed and the remainder taken prisoner.[57]

A week later at the village of Hule the heathen party again attacked the Christians while they were at worship. The skirmishes on the sabbath were followed a few days later by massive retaliation. King George and his warriors stormed the fortress annihilating its population of 300 men, women and children, and reducing the village and its fortifications to a heap of ruins.[58]

The part played by the missionaries seems clear enough. They had not created civil war. Fighting had been going on intermittently since 1797.[59] They had, however, in establishing the new order that was emerging with the widespread acceptance of Christianity, provided a model which allowed the Tongans to fight out their differences albeit with additional and somewhat changed motives.

The day before the massacre Thomas chose Joshua v 13-15 as a text when addressing a crowd of almost 2,000 people at Vava'u.[60] The passage told of a heavenly figure who appeared to Joshua and his army just before the siege of Jericho. The heavenly figure in the story revealed himself to Joshua as 'the captain of the host of the Lord', and it is probable that Thomas assured his hearers that the Lord would provide a similar guardian angel in these latter day assaults on Jericho. In the afternoon of the same day he chose Joshua x, which tells how Joshua responded to a call for help from the Gibeonites who were besieged by heathen foes.[61] In one of the bloodiest chapters in the Old Testament, the biblical historian tells how one after another of the heathen chiefs were set upon by Joshua and his army. The outcome of these battles was always the same and the repetition of the chorus monotonous: 'and Joshua smote them with the edge of the sword, and utterly destroyed all the souls that were therein, he let none

56 Spinney to Committee, quoting his Journal, 28 Jan. 1837, WMMS (ANL, mf M145); Watkin to Secretaries, 24 Mar. 1837, ibid.; Tucker to Secretaries, 28 Jan. 1837, ibid.
57 Ibid.
58 Ibid.
59 The fighting in 1799 was particularly bloody. A report from a London Missionary Society observer at the time spoke of 'heaps of [bodies] as large as the hull of the vessel . . . fifteen hundred or two thousand are lying upon one spot piled one upon another . . .'. ML, Hassall Papers, I, 66, CY A859.
60 Thomas, Journal, 22 Jan. 1837, WMMS (ANL, mf M160).
61 Ibid.

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remain'.[62] It is obviously these texts, and the ones used on 7 January, that Dillon learned about when he called at Nuku'alofa some months after the massacre at Hule. The terms used in his accusations in the personal letter to Thomas at the time, and in the later published attack, strongly resemble those of the Joshua text. 'You assured those murderers of success', Dillon wrote, 'as they fought in the cause of God, who marched in their ranks, though invisible'.[63]

Thomas's position seems clear enough. After hearing of the blood bath in Tongatapu he preached on the text: 'So let all thine enemies perish, O Lord; but let them that love him be as the sun when he goeth forth in his might'.[64] He wrote approvingly of the chief at Neiafu, who in attempting to shame deserters from King George's army, called a special meeting and asked all those who had left the war 'to get into the middle of the ring'. Some 30 men responded, most of whom could 'give no good account of themselves, or their conduct'. Commenting on the incident Thomas remarked: 'I fear that some fine young men are lacking in courage. I think it rather disgraceful of them . . . leaving the field before the war is ended.'[65]

For Tāufa'āhau the struggle of the 30s had broader significance than a purely heathen-Christian conflict. It had in addition a complex political context: the long standing civil disturbances dating back to the closing years of the 18th century; the opposition of powerful enemies, in particular the Ha'a Havea; his own place in the line to the Tui Kanokupolu title; the 'ingratitude' of forgiven enemies who had again taken up arms against him. Nevertheless, the teachings of the missionaries gave him a Christian rationale and sanction for prosecuting the war and his behaviour indicates that, at least on the surface, biblical texts were influencing his decisions and attitudes. He consulted his spiritual adviser before the outbreak of hostilities and he approached the bloody battles of 1837 in the spirit of prayer. After the Ngele'ia massacre he pointed out that he 'had not sought to be engaged in war, [but] the Lord had evidently led him to it in defence of his

[62] Thomas, ibid., refers to a sermon based on Joshua x. The extract above is from Joshua x. 30. See also Joshua x. 32, 33, 35, 37.

[63] Dillon, *Letter to Richard More O'Farrell . . .*, 6. Dillon to Thomas, 20 Nov. 1837. WMMS (ANL, mf M145).

[64] Thomas, Journal, 19 Feb. 1837, WMMS (ANL, mf M160).

[65] Ibid., 21 Feb. 1837. Although Thomas and the other missionaries in Tonga taught the Old Testament stories of the conquest of Canaan as part of their Christian teaching, the Mission authorities in London in no way endorsed this action. When Thomas wrote joyfully to London with news of 'this successful war', Secretary Beecham rebuked him sharply. In part Beecham wrote: 'It has been remarked by some . . . that a somewhat different mode of expression and reasoning would have been better suited to the character of Christian Missionaries . . . It is our earnest hope . . . that you faithfully perform your duty with regard to the King and endeavour to lead him to more consistent views of the character and requirements of Christianity—which he himself in fact appears to have better understood in an earlier part of his Christian career. . . .' For full details of the letter see Beecham to Thomas, 28 Mar. 1838, WMMS, Outwards Correspondence (ANL, mf M150).

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they had their first love feast after the afternoon service on 11 October 1829. One hundred and fifty members attended and 'those who spoke did so in a very pleasing and interesting manner indicating that the word and the spirit of the living God had been powerfully at work upon their minds' (N. Turner, Journal, 11 October 1829, WMMS 1818-36, item A2835). Sunday schools were started with the hope that they would be 'productive of much good' to the rising generation. Prayer meetings were organised and encouraged, and were conducted generally by Tongan exhorters and class leaders. Some of the Tongans conducted family prayer night and morning. Turner wrote how he heard Vī and Takanoa pray, and was both very pleased and edified by them, especially Takanoa. His prayer included 'the Creation, Fall and Redemption of man, and expressed in such a manner, as at once assured me that the understanding was clear respecting them, and the heart well affected with them'.

From the beginning, the translation of the Holy Bible into the Tongan language was regarded as a vitally important part of the work of the missionaries. As early as 1829, Turner wrote, 'I would just observe that if the conversion etc., of these islanders be our object, then we must have the Scriptures . . . brought into their language . . .' (N. Turner to Committee, 27 June 1829, WMMS 1818-36, item A2835). Four months later, he reported that he and his brethren had agreed to proceed in attempting a translation of some parts of the Scriptures. Each missionary was then allotted a portion of the Bible to translate.

The missionaries took with them to Tonga the attitudes of the parent Society at home towards education. The Society promoted elementary education among their followers with vigour and enthusiasm for it was necessary to be able to read and understand the Scriptures. Facilities for the formal training of Methodist ministers both for home and overseas missions were not forthcoming until the middle of the nineteenth century. As a result, many were thrust into the work of the ministry with very little or no training at all. However, many undoubtedly accepted and followed closely Wesley's advice when he said:

> It is a shame for Christians not to improve on them, whatever he takes in hand. You should be continually learning from the experience

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were told that they had souls after all, and like the chiefs they had every right to life after death. Their enthusiasm may be illustrated by the testimony of Ilaiakimi Tāufa recorded by the Reverend R. Young (1854:246) during his visit to Tonga in 1853:

> When the Gospel reached Tonga I heard, and was convinced of its truth, but not saved. I was converted at the great revival here. In reading the book of the Prophet Isaiah, I was powerfully impressed . . . one night it appeared to me as though a light shone within, and brought to my view my many sins . . . I saw that Christ alone could save, and that nothing else was sufficient for me. The Lord saved me: when I felt an immediate desire to praise him, and to show others the way to that good which I had obtained.

Many became very devout and sincere, and some were even prepared to give up everything they had for their faith.

It was reported that during an eruption at Niua Fo'ou friends offered to take away the native missionary, Semisi Fonua, who was looking after the work on the island, but he resolved to remain with his flock, even if he should perish with them. 'I did not come here to live only,' he replied, 'but [if necessary] to die. Just so, I am not [so much] afraid of this burning as I am afraid of meeting Jehovah in the end of time. Therefore I shall remain' (Dyson, Papers of . . ., VI:67). Such was the spirit and devotion of many of the Tongan converts who became a tremendous asset to the mission work.

The medical part of the missionaries' work continued to assume greater importance. It increasingly attracted people to the Society, who would not have gone a mile to hear a sermon, but who travelled many miles for a dose of medicine. Accordingly, dispensary hours became part of the regular routine. Some missionaries spent two hours every morning on clinical work. The success of the missionaries' medicine dealt a fatal blow to heathenism, for while it was more difficult for the Tongans to comprehend many of the abstract principles of Christianity, they could easily see the beneficial effects of medicine, especially when diseases were so prevalent and the death rate was so high. Many renounced their gods and still more began to doubt their long-established traditional beliefs.

In spite of the urgency placed on the translation of the Bible,

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the task appeared to be dragging, to the great concern of some of the missionaries. 'I am ashamed for the District', wrote Rabone. 'we are not of one heart and mind, therefore we do not go on with our work [translating]' (Rabone, Journal, 12 Dec. 1846). However, in 1853, the Reverend Richard Amos was able to write concerning a revised edition of the New Testament:

> As far as I have examined the book, I am persuaded that it is decidedly the best edition we have had, and greatly superior to any former one. If it had been printed with accented letters to mark the quantity of vowels, and the catches, or breaks, peculiar to the language, I think it might have been pronounced perfect. (*W-M Mag.*, Sept. 1854:871)

The Bible had a far-reaching effect on the lives of the people. It was not only regarded as the authority on Christian doctrine but also on day-to-day behaviour. King George called it 'a compass, a chart, telling us where we are and where to go' (Young 1854:443), and many people committed to memory long passages from it. A story is told of a sick man who, in two months, had committed to memory the books of Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians and I Thessalonians and who used to repeat a book at a time. 'Mrs. Wilson [the missionary's wife] sometimes sent him his dinner; and on one occasion, when the girl took it to him, she said, "Have you had anything to eat today?" He replied in the affirmative. "What have you had?" enquired the girl. "Had?" said he, "I have eaten the whole of the Corinthians" ' (Farmer 1855:398).

The missionaries, right from the beginning, gave education a high priority in their work. Accordingly, in their efforts to consolidate their gain, promotion of education was one of the most important tools. At the District Meeting in Vava'u in May 1850, the members were unanimous in their views with regard to education. 'We must have schools in every place,' they declared, '. . . thus elevating the rising race with the Bible in their hands, far above the darkness and baseness of heathenism, and the wicked intrigues of Popery' (*W-M Mag.*, 1851:823).

The Tongans responded to this call with great enthusiasm. King George himself took the lead and supported in every way possible the missionaries' efforts to build schools and training

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214 students to operate it (Moulton 1921:53). Out of this press came scores of books, pamphlets and periodicals which he himself had written or, with the help of his students, translated into Tongan. Among those Moulton translated were two volumes of world history, two volumes of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, *A Geography of the Holy Land*, and a *Life of Jesus Christ*. The College magazine published, among other things, world news and collections of outstanding Tongan poems. [779] A complete translation of the Holy Bible was published by the Foreign Bible Society in 1862. A hymn book and catechism were also published.

797 533 538 533 539 Music was given special attention. Religious poems were written by Tongan poets and poetesses and set to traditional tunes. These songs really captivated the interest of the Tongans, for whom they made Christian teaching and Bible stories more alive and meaningful. Robert Young (1854:228) recorded a literal translation of one of these when he visited Tonga in 1853:

A guilty world stood exposed to wrath,
But Jesus beheld it in love.
(Chorus of response)
And we weep whilst we sing his dying love.

In Gethsemane's garden he sweat drops of blood,
That for us he might slay the last foe
And we weep whilst we sing his dying love.

Thou saidst to thy few disciples there,
That sorrow oppressed thy soul.
And we weep whilst we sing thy dying love.

He was judged to cruel death,
Yet he opened not his mouth
And we weep whilst we sing his dying love.

We look to thy wounded side, once pierced
By the Roman soldier's spear.
And we weep whilst we sing thy dying love.

We pray and not faint in Jesus's name,
And worship for evermore,
And we weep whilst we sing his dying love.

(Both words and tune were prepared by a poetess, Siokāpesi Fehi'a.)

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advice. In 1831 Peter Turner (Journal, 26 Dec. 1831) recorded that, 'The king came up this morning and wished to have some laws for the regulation of his servants . . .'.

The missionaries, for their part, were not only willing to give their advice, but they expected to be consulted on almost every important matter, so much so that when their advice was not sought by the chiefs they were deeply disappointed. Thomas noted in his journal, in February 1831, that in things of small importance he had been consulted by the chief, Tāufa'āhau, but it was a long time since Tāufa'āhau had taken much notice of him. Later, in the same year, Thomas was furious when Tāufa'ūhau decided of his own accord to accept an invitation from Fīnau 'Ulukālala of Vava'u, who was then heathen, to a canoe race. He referred to Tāufa'āhau as 'headstrong', because he had not consulted him on the matter, 'but sent word to 'Ulukālala that at such a time he could come' (Thomas, Journal, 13 April 1831).

It is quite obvious that Tāufa'āhau's first venture into legislation was strongly influenced by mission teaching. He had great admiration for the prominent figures of the Bible and wanted to follow their examples. He told one of the missionaries, in the course of a conversation on political matters, that, 'he wanted to imitate Abraham and those of whom the scriptures speak' (P. Turner, Journal, 26 Dec. 1831).

Although there is no documentary evidence, it seems fairly certain that the missionaries told King George about the system of government in their homeland and that the King of England and his Parliament ruled the people according to a written code of law. It would also be surprising if the King had not heard from the missionaries and visiting sea captains about the laws and port regulations already existing in other Pacific islands such as Hawaii and Tahiti.

It is not possible to document the degree of Tāufa'āhau's familiarity with the British system of law, but it was under his rule that the first written law in Tonga—the Vava'u Code (for the full Code see Appendix A)[1]—was officially promulgated in a *fono* at Pouono, a *mala'e* at Neiafu, the capital of Vava'u, on 20 November 1839. According to Thomas (Journal, 20 Nov. 1839), these laws had, with a few exceptions, been acted upon in Vava'u

1 [See category 671, pp. 221-225--Analyst]

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treat kava as if it were strong stuff. And so it is, but the strength comes from society, not from the vegetable kingdom.[3]

Before I describe the ceremony, here are a few background facts about the Kingdom. Tonga is a Polynesian society consisting of about 150 small islands with a population of about 70,000 people. It has a Treaty of Friendship with Great Britain, but has always been independent, never a colony, a fact of which Tongans are very proud. The people have been Christian for 130 years and virtually everyone can read and write. Tongans practise subsistence farming on small holdings, with coconuts and bananas as the main cash crops. There are no extremes of wealth or poverty. For the past 100 years government has assumed the form of a constitutional monarchy. Anyone who saw Queen Sālote of Tonga at the coronation of Queen Elizabeth in 1953 will not be likely to forget her. She is as memorable in Tonga as she is in Britain. She died in December 1965 and was succeeded by her eldest son, the present King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CEREMONY

The basic form of the kava ceremony is always the same, though it may vary from a small informal gathering of four or five people to a huge assemblage of several hundred people. It can be dressed up or down as the occasion requires. It takes place on many different sorts of occasion: when men visit each other just to talk; when welcoming home relatives who have been away; in courtship; at weddings; at certain points in a funeral; at the appointment of a king and later on at his coronation; and similarly at the appointment of a chief and on the occasion when he first presents himself and his villagers to his King.

Figures 1 and *2* show the seating at an informal and at a formal ceremony. The participants sit cross-legged, with the chief whose title is genealogically the most senior at the head of the circle. He has an official called a matāpule on either side of

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 210]

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catechists and preachers he used theological lectures prepared by the saintly John Hunt who died in Fiji in 1848. Amos's institution became a model also in its appearance; the homes of the married students were set in trim gardens and connected with well-kept paths. His students worked four hours each day in their food-gardens on the block of 20 acres set apart for them.

On his second visit in 1850, Lawry held an examination day for all the Tongatapu schools. It was a great festival indeed. Lawry stood on Zion Hill and was overwhelmed with emotion as he thought of the conditions that he found in 1822-3 and as he now saw the approaching lines of schools from the different villages, accompanied by their choirs:

> "The processions emerged from the luxuriant groves of evergreens and shade, and ascended the Chapel Hill, with measured step and slow pace, singing their 'songs of degrees' (psalms of ascents), the females taking their part and the men theirs, all joining in full chorus." (21)

So successful was the work of Amos in Nuku'alofa that other schools on his model were set up. Still designated "Superintendent of Schools", Amos was appointed to Vava'u. The Ha'apai Circuit in 1850 gave a glowing account of its schools; it referred particularly to Queen Salote (Lupe Pau'u), then resident in Lifuka:

> "She not merely attends as a teacher, but tries to improve herself and, although an elderly lady, yet she makes constant improvement in reading, writing and arithmetic." (22)

Much depended upon the influence of the chiefs in the various districts, and reports showed that in some cases schools lapsed altogether because of the apathy of the elders and their failure to encourage the children to attend. The imposition of civil penalties (e.g., fines) sometimes helped. Schools for adults gradually ceased.

King George had strongly supported Amos's work at Nuku'alofa and this school continued to flourish after Amos removed to Vava'u.(23) The sermon most often quoted on the subject of education was given by the king in Fiji on his way to Sydney in 1853. The text was Hosea iv. 6, "My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge". In his sermon he declared that the Europeans had the advantage over Tongans, not in physical but in intellectual equipment, and their fundamental strength lay in the Bible, the source of true knowledge. The king's words set the goal for the future Tupou College.

The king in that sermon expressed what all Tongan converts believed; Christianity was the religion of a Book. The Anglican divine, William Chillingworth, may have exaggerated the case when he said in 1638, "The Bible and the Bible alone is the religion of Protestants", but every Protestant missionary considered it essential that the translated Scriptures should be in the hands of converts as soon as possible. The Roman Catholic priests in the Pacific had some justification for calling the Protestants "the Biblical missionaries". The pioneers, Nathaniel Turner and his colleagues, knew the importance of not only the Scriptures, but the catechism, hymns, and a simple liturgy for the people's use. The 1841 District Meeting, under John Waterhouse, set up a Translation Committee. The Meeting decided to "avoid as far as possible the introduction of foreign words" and also recommended that a specially qualified missionary be added to the staff for translating,

> "as the missionaries in Tonga do not profess a critical knowledge of the original tongues". (24)

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[1843-1906]

Cargill, who had just returned from Fiji to Britain, was sent in 1843 in response to that request; as a linguist he was of the same high order as J. E. Moulton who came over twenty years later. 797 779

Some small portions of the Scriptures had been in print since 1833 and these had been revised and reprinted several times. The missionaries had been allotted various books of the Bible for translation. Although Thomas's journals and those of his colleagues refer frequently to this work it made only slow progress. It took twenty years to produce a complete Tongan New Testament. In 1849, at last, 4,000 copies of the New Testament were printed on the press in Vava'u.

Rabone was reluctant to criticize his brother-in-law, John Thomas, but the tardiness in translating irritated him. His journal stated that, on 20 June 1846, he received a complete copy of the Samoan New Testament after the L.M.S. missionaries had been in Samoa only ten years. He wrote,

> "O, the years we have wasted . . . while others have got the Word of God into the hands of the people. . . . Shame on us for verily we are guilty." (33)

On 12 December 1846 he heard of what the Wesleyans in Fiji had done in ten years, and commented,

> "They are making progress in the work of translation. I am ashamed for this district; we are not of one heart and mind. therefore we do not go as well with our work. They are of one mind in Fiji and therefore their work tells well." (36)

The dilatoriness of the Chairman is implied in Rabone's words on 25 June 1847:

> "We have not held a District Meeting since March 1845; also our printing is at a stand-still and needs a new impulse. We are expecting a visit from Mr. Lawry." (37)

It was this District Meeting in 1847 over which Lawry presided that gave the new impulse for which Rabone and others were looking. With regard to translating, Lawry recorded —

> "This work has very urgent claims upon us, and those claims have existed for several years; but there is no sufficient reason why they have not been met long ago. I here record the opinion of most of the Tonga missionaries." (38)

It was decided that Rabone should revise the New Testament and continue with Old Testament translation. Rabone also laid later generations under obligation [113] to him by his painstaking work in producing a Tongan-English Vocabulary and Grammar, printed on the mission press in Vava'u in 1846. Rabone accomplished a great deal of his translation before he had to leave Tonga in 1850 when West, Davis and Adams continued the Old Testament translation. The final production was largely the work of West.

Editions of the New Testament were published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1850 and 1854. Robert Young, the deputation from the British Wesleyan Conference, brought 10,000 copies on his visit in 1853. Thomas West had the satisfaction of seeing the whole Bible published by the Bible Society in 1862, after he had returned from Tonga. His was the translation used until Moulton's new version in 1880 (New Testament) and 1906 (Old Testament). West's is substiantially the version which the present dissenting churches, the Free Church of Tonga and the Church of Tonga, are using, instead of Moulton's.

The Wesleyans in both Tonga and Fiji used liturgical forms of worship. It is true that they encouraged extemporaneous prayer but they knew the value of ordered worship. With the Tongans' love of music there was no difficulty in accustoming the congregation to take part in a sung liturgy. Reference has been 797 796 [533] [779]

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made to the sonorous singing of the *Te Deum* at the marriage of Taufa'ahau's daughter, Salote, to the Tu'i Pelehake in 1839. The District Meeting in 1841, influenced by John Waterhouse and his experience of the Book of Common Prayer in English Wesleyan services, decided that John Wesley's Abridgement of Morning Prayer from the Book of Common Prayer should be translated and should be used in all the large chapels where missionaries could guide the worship. John Thomas was anything but a high churchman or ritualist but he and the other missionaries loyally accepted the ruling.[29] The Hymn-book of 1849 had 189 hymns, the Morning Prayer service, and also the catechism. In the 1853 edition the Litany and Collects occupied 40 pages and the catechism 72 pages.

Lawry, in his 1850 visit, commented upon the worship in Zion, Nuku'alofa:

> "The serious devotional tone of this host of worshippers would bear a comparison with any congregation I ever saw in England. . . . The beautiful harmony with which they went through the responses in the Morning Service was very affecting, in tones like the sound of many waters. . . . Both the singing and the praying were performed by the entire congregation." [30]

A visiting Anglican physician, Dr. W. H. Harvey, of Trinity College, Dublin, made particular reference to the Tongan Wesleyans' use

> "of our noble Liturgy which we always use in the chapel service".[31]

It was this doctor who was so impressed with the need for more support for medical work that he instituted a Protestant Medical Aid Society. At a later date (1878), Sir Arthur Gordon, when High Commissioner, expressed surprise that "the Anglican Prayer Book" had been translated into Tongan and was regularly used by the Wesleyans.[32]

It was Dr. Moulton who retranslated the Liturgy into stately Tongan to replace what the early missionaries had given with their more restricted knowledge of the language. Both versions still stand in the book used by the Free Wesleyan Church although Moulton's is the one commonly used in worship today.

Tongans eagerly adopted European music and forms of worship. They also introduced colourful patterns of their own, such as the watchnight service on new year's eve, when the lights were brought to the church by all families. In the early days these were nut-shells filled with oil.[33] At these services several preachers dwelt solemnly upon the passing of the old year; after about two hours the spirit of gravity was changed to a joyous welcome to the new year.

Another part of the missionaries' work was the introduction of treatment for the people's diseases. Tongans had their own treatment which, generally speaking, they have preferred, even to recent times. They were sometimes impressed, however, by the effect of the medicine brought by the missionaries and they were willing to use it if their own herbs failed. A limitation on the missionaries' efforts was the scanty knowledge they possessed. The situation was exceptional with qualified medical practitioners, R. B. Lyth, most of whose ministry was in Fiji, and George Miller. Shirley Baker, who served from 1860 onwards, had acquired a proficiency in prescribing.

An unusual case of a layman's description of what must have been poliomyelitis is found in a letter from Mrs. Matthew Wilson at Hihifo to her parents in England in November 1847. It was remarkable that one who had no medical knowledge whatever should describe symptoms so accurately. Poliomyelitis had

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The line between interference in politics and merely giving advice when requested was often uncertain. This was a controversial matter when, after 1860, Shirley Baker, while he was still a missionary, regularly gave the king advice. 797

At Taufa'ahau's request, Thomas helped him frame the Vava'u Code of 1839, the king's first venture in legislation on a European model. Promulgated at Neiafu on 29 November 1839, it was the first written law in Tonga, the first step also in limiting the power of the chiefs. It indicated, probably more accurately than later and longer documents, what Taufa'ahau thought was suitable for his people. 797 643 671

The opening phrases showed that the king based the Code on the recognition of God as the fount of law and authority:

> "It is of the God of heaven and earth that I have been appointed to speak to you; he is King of Kings and Lord of Lords, he doeth whatsoever he pleaseth, he lifteth up one and putteth down another, he is righteous in all his work, we are all the work of his hands and the sheep of his pasture, and his will towards us is that we should be happy." [779]

In this code the chiefs were directed to give land to their people who were under obligation to cultivate it properly. The emphasis placed on industrious habits is a strong feature of these laws. No man who refused to work was to be fed or assisted, and unmarried women who did not work were to suffer in the same way. Chiefs were forbidden to take the property of commoners and they were not to take the law into their own hands. In order to safeguard the gardens it was made unlawful to turn pigs outside their sty. If a pig destroyed a garden, its owner was to shut it up immediately on receiving the complaint and to recompense the damage done; after a second offence it was lawful for the injured person to kill the pig and keep its carcase. [565] [622] [461] [689] [622] [565] [685]

Retailing "ardent spirits" was heavily punished. Adultery and fornication were made criminal offences. (Chevalier Peter Dillon criticized this section.) [46] It was typical of the sternness with which the missionaries of that period were endeavouring to enforce sexual purity that Rabone noted with satisfaction the public flogging of two men and a woman found guilty of fornication. The flogging was carried out by the order of the Governor of Vava'u. [273] 671 684

> "May this chastisement be sanctified to their good and the good of all." [47]

These penalties seemed to show that the missionaries' stern denunciations from the pulpit were not always effective. John Thomas had told his people that, "if they did not leave off their adultery and fornication, they would burn in hell for ever", and he also found that, while warning the congregation in these terms, he had to reprove some women twice for laughing.[48] [797]

Other sections of the Code strongly reflected missionary influence. All work and games were prohibited on the Sabbath. Attendance at public worship was enjoined in these terms: 671 796 794

> "That all my people should attend to all the duties of religion towards God; that they should keep holy the Sabbath day, by abstaining from their worldly occupations and labours, and by attending to the preaching of the Word and the worship of God in their places of worship." 527

A court was established at Neiafu to sit monthly. Four chiefs were appointed as magistrates. The Code of Vava'u was made applicable to Ha'apai also, and to Tongatapu after Taufa'ahau became Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1845. 671 692

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[1862-1885]

in 1893. He had some knowledge of pharmacy before he went to Tonga. During a long furlough of nearly three years in Sydney (1867-9) he walked the hospitals to acquire a limited knowledge of medicine; he used this on his return to Tonga, with assistance to the Mission staff and their families, for which they were grateful, and in professional services to other Europeans as well as Tongans. He claimed to have treated Europeans without asking for payment, and there is no reason to believe either that his charges were excessive or that he neglected his Mission duties because of medical work. 797

He never forgave the Church in Australia for recalling him in 1879; he deliberately circumvented its decision that he should leave Tonga and he broke his own pledge to do so in order to become Premier in 1880. His actions in 1885 in setting up an independent church, the Free Church [22], could have been founded on a genuine belief that an independent nation should have a self-governing Church, had it not been for the evidence of his vindictiveness towards the Australian Church authorities. All this does not absolve the Wesleyan leaders in Australia from blame for delaying their consent to Tonga becoming a self-governing Church, in spite of their suspicion of what Baker would do with a Church that he would be free to control at will. The crowning wrong of Baker's regime was his allowing the bitter persecutions of those Wesleyans who refused to join the Free Church in 1885 and afterwards. [798]

After Baker became Chairman in 1869, he deliberately sought to please the Wesleyan authorities in Australia by raising large sums, to be applied particularly to the expansion of other Missions, e.g., New Britain. The methods he used were strongly criticized by English traders, by Government officials in Fiji, and by his own missionary colleagues. A colleague, Jabez Bunting Watkin, was most critical of Baker's "vaulting ambition" and declared that he should leave Tonga for the good of the Mission in 1878-9: later, Watkin became Baker's confederate in establishing the Free Church in 1885. In the early years, however, fortune seemed to smile on this ambitious missionary. This was particularly evident in a year famous in Tonga's history — 1862.

* * * *

A festival such as Tonga had not known before was held on 4 June 1862. It marked "Emancipation Day" and the promulgation of the Code of 1862, and it has been observed as an annual holiday ever since. Over 3,000 visitors came from the northern islands in 49 canoes. They were entertained for over two months with 150,000 yams and 9,000 large pigs as part of the bountiful provision offered to all. Basil Thomson's comment was apt, if exaggerated: after two months of wastefulness, "the land was as bare as if a swarm of locusts had passed over it".[23] The mats and native cloth *(ngatu)* presented to the Queen formed two enormous heaps, "each the size of a tolerable wheat-stack". 527 [671]

On Whitsunday, the Sunday following 4 June, a thanksgiving service was held in the open air with a congregation of nearly 5,000. The king must have felt justifiable satisfaction as he surveyed this scene. The assembly sang "Jesus shall reign" with full-throated Tongan fervour. The first prayer was offered by a chief, David 'Ahome'e; as a missionary present said, "Thank God, the Tongans can pray, though it may be, as one from Samoa says, 'They pray like steam'." The delivery of 10,000 copies of the complete Bible, largely the work of Thomas [779] 527 796

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West, then in England, printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society, synchronized with this epoch-making year.

"All laws relating to serfdom are repealed" was the essence of the detailed provision for the abolition of Tonga's old feudal system. What had been included in the Codes of 1839 and 1850 was made explicit now, in spite of the reluctance of many chiefs. Though the serfdom that had existed in Tonga was not comparable to slavery under masters of another race, as in America, yet the ancient absolute power of Tongan chiefs over the lives and property of their people was out of keeping with the position of the country in 1862. The day of the warrior-chief had passed, and with the spread of education and the acceptance of Christian principles equal opportunities for commoners with chiefs had to be recognized. Not only was the arbitrary rule of the chiefs ended, but the king's own authority itself was limited by the Code of 1862.

Under the new Code, land was to be allotted by the chiefs to their people. All males sixteen years and over were entitled to their allotments, with right of continued possession, provided that the rent was paid. The poll-tax was fixed at three dollars. (Tongan dollar = four shillings.) The rent to be paid to the chiefs for tax-allotments was two shillings per annum. This system of guaranteeing land to all Tongan males has been followed ever since, only the scarcity of land and the population explosion in recent years preventing its full implementation. Salaries to judges and other civil servants were to be paid from public revenue, not from fines as under the old system. Customs duties were fixed.

4 June 1862 is commemorated also for the beginning of parliamentary government. However, there was as yet no formal parliament and a cabinet was not formed until 1875. The first Premier, Crown Prince David 'Unga, was not appointed until 1876. Parliaments met very infrequently in the early period — 1867, 1870, 1874.

Much of the Codes of 1839 and 1850 was incorporated in the Code of 1862, but it was also directly influenced by the Hawaiian Constitution of 1855, and the advice of a journalist, Charles St. Julian, afterwards Hawaiian Consul in Sydney, who sent suggestions to the king.[24]

Shirley Baker, only two years in Tonga, but already making his presence felt, was entrusted with writing out the Code. Whether, at this early stage in his career, he did much more than that for the king is doubtful.

The missionaries had much less to do with the Code of 1862 than with the previous codes even though the king sometimes consulted them about it. He had reached the stage when he did not generally desire the same dependence on their advice. Some years before this, Richard Amos, when writing to John Eggleston, Missionary Secretary, had represented the missionaries' opinion: "The king happens to have a will of his own" (26 October 1857).

Other differences appeared. The king's policy did not always conform to the missionaries' interpretation of Scripture. W. J. Davis wrote to Eggleston that he had spoken to the king who wished to allow divorce and re-marriage after three years' separation, a provision that Davis regarded as "a violation of Scripture" (6 September 1861).[25] The missionaries regretted certain significant omissions in the new Code; adultery and fornication were punishable as before, but there was no longer a prohibition of native dancing.

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[1865-1869]

So much attention afterwards was given to Moulton as an educator that his outstanding ability as a biblical scholar and translator tended to be overlooked. He was masterly in scriptural exegesis according to the best scholarship of his day. He quickly became an expert in the Tongan language and eventually re-translated the whole Bible from the original tongues, giving a classical Tongan rendering. His brother, Professor R. G. Moulton, considered that he did for Tongan what Dante did for Mediaeval Italian, "preparing the raw Italian to be a vehicle of the poetry that was coming".(41) His only fault as translator came from being pedantic, choosing some words and phrases that even then were passing out of use. Perhaps an even greater bequest to the Tongan people were his inspiring hymns. These were distinguished by their literary beauty, their deeply spiritual content, and their faithfulness to Tongan thought and imagery. E. E. Crosby, a young colleague well acquainted with the language, said of Moulton's hymns, "In his hymns his translations surpassed the original as John Wesley's translations from the German are said to do". These hymns showed a startling superiority to the feeble and repetitive hymns of the early missionaries.

Moulton was an accomplished musician. Some of his hymns were set to the popular Sankey tunes of the day, but many of the tunes were of stately quality. Also, Moulton taught his College choir anthems from Handel and other great composers. He had to manufacture a special tonic sol-fa to do this, substituting numerals for the sounds "do-re-mi" &c. which, he quickly found, included vulgarities in Tongan.

In 1899 he was honoured with the degree of Doctor of Divinity by the Victoria University, Toronto, through the nomination of his brother, after the exhibition of some of his work at the Chicago Exposition. It is as "Dr. Moulton" that he is remembered in Tonga.

Physically, he was impressive, with his leonine head and beard, and his commanding presence. There was a flamboyant side to his nature that appealed to the Tongan love of display. Intellectually, he was a giant. It was pitiful that a man of his stature should have become embroiled in squalid quarrels with Shirley Baker, who soon became jealous of his success and finally used his influence with the king to destroy, at least temporarily, Moulton's lifework. Fortunately, his solid achievements are recognized today in the Church and the land to which his genius was dedicated.

Moulton made his plans for the formal opening of Tupou College in February 1866. The Minutes of the Australasian Conference showed the title "Native Training Institution" and "District Training Institution" alongside Moulton's name for the years 1865-8, and the name "Tupou College" did not appear in the Minutes until 1869. From the outset, however, Moulton was determined that it should be a "College". Outsiders smiled at such a name for an island school; no other school in the Pacific had been so called. George Tupou sanctioned the use of his royal name for the College. Among the first students was Wellington Ngu, the king's grandson; incidentally, Moulton required, and the king agreed, that the prince should observe all the rules and enjoy no special privileges.

Moulton had special aims as well as a distinctive curriculum for his College. He sought to prepare the most promising pupils for positions in the Government and the Church. The College was not a formal theological institution as Francis Wilson's "Academy" had been in Vava'u in 1841 nor did it follow the model of Richard Amos, who combined a course of theological studies with his general

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[1875 - 1880]

"pinafores" was no longer required.[59] These actions were taken by the first Parliament in which representatives of the people sat.

Baker's prestige did not suffer so seriously from the criticism regarding these laws as in two other directions where his ambition caused grave embarrassment. These were his pro-German policy and his dubious methods of raising Church revenue. When controversies regarding these matters were at their height, Baker's rival, Moulton, was absent from the scene of strife.

The District Meeting of December 1875 gave permission to Moulton to visit England in 1877, with expenses paid by the Mission in Tonga. He had felt it imperative to give the Tongan people a new translation of the New Testament. This he could do with his accurate knowledge of Greek, which the older missionaries lacked, and also a mastery of Tongan superior even to theirs. The District Meeting, with Baker in the chair, expressed its "full confidence in the ability of Bro. Moulton to revise the Tongan Scriptures".[60] Baker reported this to Chapman,

> "Both Europeans and natives were unanimous . . . as to Bro. Moulton's capabilities I need say nothing." [61]

Moulton left Tonga on 2 June 1877, and took with him David Finau, a minister who had been a leading College student. Finau was invaluable as a collaborator in translation; he also proved attractive as an advocate for Missions to English congregations. Moulton was in constant touch with his brother, William Fiddian Moulton, who was a member of the New Testament Revision Committee then meeting in the Jerusalem Chamber, Westminster Abbey. One reason for Moulton going to England at this time was to have the benefit of that Committee's work.

After three years' absence, Moulton returned in July 1880. His translation was hailed with satisfaction by the District Meeting, under Watkin's chairmanship (13 December 1880):

> "This District Meeting desires to express its thanks to the Rev. J. E. Moulton for the very important service he has rendered to the Church and people of Tonga by translating and carrying through the press our new edition of the New Testament. . . . When we consider the immense difficulties . . . we are astonished not only at the magnitude of the work itself but at the successful manner of its accomplishment. To this District Meeting it is a matter for special gratitude to God that Mr. Moulton during his work of translation was in a position to confer with members of the English Bible Revision Committee . . ." [62]

There was no hint here of the criticisms that Baker and Watkin laid against Moulton's translation a few years afterwards. It was because of the differences on the Mission staff, and not on textual grounds, that the Free Church in 1885 rejected Moulton's work and returned to the old version. Moulton's scholarly translation lacked the simplicity of the old, but it was more accurate and was couched in finer forms of speech. It incorporated many of the marginal readings of the English Revised Version (for which Moulton's brother was largely responsible) as well as following the main stream of the Revised Version.

On a technicality the British and Foreign Bible Society, which had generously printed the old version, did not publish Moulton's. Its rules at that time precluded it from printing any translation not based on the older text. It was an evidence of Moulton's scholarship that he was determined to follow Westcott and Hort's Greek text. Perhaps his obstinate nature broke through in this insistence. Private printing was expensive but it was undertaken. Moulton proudly imprinted on the

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front page and on the cover the emblem and motto of Tupou College, the crab emerging from a shell, an indication of education serving new conditions, with the words "The mountain of Tonga is the mind" (with a pun on the words for mountain and crab). This detail called forth more criticism eventually. It would have been better for Moulton to have dispensed with the emblem on the Bible.

Moulton's absence during the critical years in which Baker was removed from the Mission and became Premier absolved him from any complicity in the charges against Baker in 1878 and the disputes that followed. He may well have been tempted to remain abroad, especially if he could have foreseen the changed situation in Church and State in Tonga. During his three years' absence Baker insinuated suspicions into the king's mind, especially suggesting that Moulton was favouring annexation while he (Baker) was defending Tonga against it. When Moulton left in 1877 the king had given him tangible tokens of friendship and gratitude and he had impressed on Moulton his desire for his return. In 1880 Moulton found the king estranged from him.

Marvellous to relate, in site of the bickering among the missionaries in a community where nothing could be hidden, the work of the Church was being carried on, in preaching, teaching, and pastoral care. The Tongan ministers must have been steadily losing respect for missionaries who were guilty of feuding and personal animosity. It seems almost incredible that normal and genuine religious ministries could have been maintained in a Mission that had truly become "a house divided against itself".

Footnotes:

(1) Chapman to Moulton. Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C.
(2) Greenwood, H., *Journal*. A.1756. M.L.S.
(3) Rutherford, N., *Shirley Baker and the King of Tonga*, p.32.
(4) Greenwood, ibid, 9 August 1870.
(5) Mission Board Minutes, Sydney, 26 January 1871. M.O.M.C.
(6) Rutherford, ibid, p.91.
(7) Australian Conference Minutes 1873, p.72.
(8) Moulton to Chapman. Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C.
(9) Baker to Chapman. Catalogue 101. M.O.M.C.
(10) *Tongan Papers*, N.L.C.
(11) Baker to Chapman. Set 101 and Set 197, item 2. M.O.M.C.
(12) Rutherford, ibid, pp.38-9.
(13) *Christian Advocate and Wesleyan Record*, Sydney, 6 February 1873.
(14) ibid.
(15) Minns to Chapman. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(16) Moulton to Chapman. Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C.
(17) *Report of Sir Charles Mitchell*, 1887, p.3.
(18) *Christian Advocate* &c., ibid, 2 March 1874.
(19) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*, 30 November 1874. F.W.C.
(20) ibid.
(21) Greenwood to Chapman. Item 170. M.O.M.C.
(22) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*. F.W.C.
(23) Baker to Chapman, 4 September 1873. Item 101. M.O.M.C.
(24) Moulton to Chapman, 31 August 1873. Catalogue 99. M.O.M.C.
(25) Tonga District Meeting *Minutes*. F.W.C.
(26) ibid; *Christian Advocate* &c., ibid, 3 February 1875.
(27) Baker to Chapman. Set 197, Item 2. M.O.M.C.
(28) ibid, Item 101. M.O.M.C.
(29) ibid, Item 101. M.O.M.C.
(30) *The Tonga Chronicle*, 12 June 1970.
(31) ibid.

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[1924]

people into one Church so that the two Churches will be one Church called the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga." (5) 795 797

On the face of things all seemed favourable. Nevertheless, Watkin was vacillating and distrustful. In his heart he disliked and feared the reversal of the policy of separation, and when, at length, he openly opposed the proposal there were lamentable consequences, for himself and the people of the Churches.

On 11 February Watkin sent to the Queen a letter of resignation:

> "If you will allow me I will resign from the office as President of the Free Church. I informed you some days ago that I am now very old and not equal to the work, and I desire to retire if Your Majesty consents. . . . Your Majesty is aware that by the Constitution a year's notice is required, but if Your Majesty desires that I should retire at once let me know your wishes." (6)

As subsequent events showed, he did not stand by this resignation, just as he did not honour his engagements to enter into union.

The Queen convened a Joint Committee which met at the Palace on 20 and 21 February. It consisted of Watkin, six chiefs and six ministers from his Church, and Page with a similar number of Wesleyan representatives. The Constitution of 8 August 1885 was accepted, with the use of the correct name, "Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga". This Constitution, as "amended and adopted" by the Committee, was signed by the Queen as Chairman of the Joint Committee, by Mr. Watkin as "President of the Free Wesleyan Church", and Page as "Chairman of the Wesleyan Church", and also Tungi. At the foot of this document it was stated that — 795 797 643

> "The following resolutions are also agreed to:
> (1) Requesting affiliation with the General Conference of Australia.
> (2) Permitting the use of both old and new translations of the Bible in public worship." [779]
> (This referred to the old translation by Thomas West, used in the Free Church, and Moulton's new translation.)

The advantage of the link with Australia was recognized by the Committee as securing a supply of European ministers and teachers. This was repeatedly emphasized in the months that followed; the Free Church had no European ministers (except Watkin) and no teachers; the Wesleyans had both. It was agreed that the Queen should appoint the first President of the united church and appointments in following years would be by Conference election, with endorsement by the Queen. Regulations for the conduct of worship and for the holding of Church property by trustees were agreed upon. The Joint Committee decided that the first united Conference should be convened in the second week of April. Watkin confirmed this in a letter to the Queen on 24 February; afterwards, he spoke of delaying the Conference until July. [609] 795 797

Knowing the urgency of the situation, Page asked J. G. Wheen, Missionary Secretary, to get authority for the Wesleyan Church to enter immediately into union. He did this before the meeting of the Mission Board in February, and before the New South Wales Conference (to which the Tongan Wesleyan Church was attached) also met in February. He requested that the President-General himself would give general approval of the terms of union. Page felt he was justified in doing this, but some of the advisers of the President-General (Dr. E. H. Sugden) doubted whether the decision of the 1913 General Conference (see supra, page 212) was still operative. Finally, the President-General gave the approval that Page had desired. At the New South Wales Conference satisfaction with the prospects of reunion was shown in the fervent singing of the Doxology.

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Some leaders thought that the President-General should go to Tonga to sanction the union, but Page and his colleagues realized how inappropriate this would be. 795 797

Mr. Watkin was now adopting a completely obstructive attitude. On 22 March the Queen wrote to him about his interfering with the agreement to exchange pulpits in the two Churches; the fact that such an exchange had never occurred before indicated how real had been the separation. She wrote again to Mr. Watkin, on 9 April, reminding him that he had promised to call the Free Church Conference in the second week of April and, so far, he had not done this. When no reply was forthcoming, she called upon him to resign from his position as President and Chaplain, and added that there would be a pension from the Government for his chaplaincy and also from the Church. 643 795 797

> "If [she wrote] with a willing heart you send your resignation you will receive a pension while you remain faithful to me and the Free Wesleyan Church." (7)

However, on 16 April, Mr. Watkin wrote withdrawing his previous letter of resignation, and stating,

> "I respectfully inform Your Majesty that I will certainly not resign from the position to which I was appointed by King George Tupou I and to that I hold." (8)

This was in answer to another letter from the Queen's Secretary, J. F. Tongilava, on the same date, 16 April, pointing out that he (Watkin) had not replied to the Queen's letter of 9 April and calling for his resignation "not later than 3 p.m. this day, April 16".

The aged President must have been acting on advice, but whose it is now impossible to say. He had cancelled his agreement to union, because he would not even tacitly admit that circumstances had changed and that union had become desirable. He had shown a strong aversion to Moulton's translation of the Scriptures and his hymns, although their use was to be left optional after union. He was, in actual fact, stirring up among his ministers the old animosities and the suspicions of affiliation with Australia, even though the documents showed that Tupou I had desired this. 795 797

Meanwhile, on 7 April, Page had reviewed the position in writing to J. G. Wheen:

> "At the meeting of the Joint Committee, Mr. Watkin voted for practically every motion, in fact I think there was only one motion that was not carried unanimously, and I had hoped there would be willing co-operation to achieve union but it has not been so. He has placed every obstruction in the way possible, and even gone so far as to ask his ministers to repudiate their vote which I am glad to say they declined to do — the first time in Free Church history that the ministers have dared to thwart his purpose. . . .
>
> "Without the Queen's zeal and statesmanship union would not have been possible. . . . The Bible question was a burning question with Mr. Watkin and his Free Church folk. They were desirous of prohibiting Moulton's translation; eventually we were able to induce them to accept the resolution permitting the use of both old and new translations in public worship and the use of both hymn-books. When Mr. Watkin dies, the opposition to the new translation will die; it is too much Moulton for his stomach." (9) 643 797

Finally, Mr. Watkin convened the Conference on 16 April, but nothing was done for a week while he was endeavouring to tamper with the loyalty of those ministers and chiefs who favoured union and who had already indicated this to the Queen.

The Queen's patience was now exhausted. On 22 April she attended the Conference. After addressing the members she handed Mr. Watkin her letter of dismissal. In this letter she wrote — 643 795 797

> "It is clear to me from the Constitution of our Church that the sovereign is head of the

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[1951-1972]

In June 1968, the centenary of Tupou College was observed; it had been postponed from 1966 because of the Queen's death, the period of mourning, and the coronation celebrations. There were 10,000 present at the final service at Toloa, the present location of the College. Another feature was the singing of Handel's oratorio "The Messiah" by a massed choir of 2,000, formed by village choirs from all districts, at the Centenary Church, Nuku'alofa. The entire oratorio was sung from memory and with great eclat. 873 643 765 533

The development of practical teaching in agriculture and in animal husbandry at Tupou College has made it almost self-supporting. A new science block and a technical wing have enlarged the usefulness of the College; these were supported by "The Methodist Million" fund in Australia and the benevolence of the late Lord Rank in England. The new Hango Agricultural College on the island of 'Eua, opened by the king in 1969, with a property of 420 acres, is designed to emulate the success of Navuso, the Methodist Agricultural School in Fiji. The value of Tupou High School, established in 1963 for higher academic studies, was seen when in 1965 the first of its students qualified to matriculate at Melbourne University; this was the first case of matriculation from a school in Tonga. 874 797 873

The contribution of the Churches to secondary education is revealed by the fact that over 50% of the secondary school students in Tonga are now being educated by the Free Wesleyan Church, about 40% by other Churches, and only 10% in Government secondary schools. In 1972 the Free Wesleyan Church had 2,990 students in six colleges, 2,000 in twenty-one middle schools, 3,999 in 29 primary schools. Other Churches have expanded their educational facilities; the Mormon College was developed with an expenditure of $4,000,000 in five years and has reached an enrolment of 1,200 co-educational pupils. 795 873

An encouraging instance of better inter-church relationships is the friendliness with the Roman Catholic Church. This has been inspired by the world-wide influence of the late Pope John XXIII. Agreement was reached regarding a new translation of the Bible. A noted missionary-linguist, the late Dr. Maxwell Churchward, who produced, first, a new Grammar and Dictionary for the Government, revised the New Testament between 1951 and 1961. In August 1962 the two Churches agreed to accept this and to revise the Old Testament also. The Roman Catholic Church asked for only four words to be spelt according to its custom (Jesus, Mary, Joseph, and grace). Dr. John 'Amanaki Havea was commissioned in 1965 to conduct the whole revision. So amicable is the relationship between the two Churches that in 1972 a choir of 1,000 Free Wesleyans took part in the service of consecrating a Tongan priest to be the first Tongan-born Roman Catholic bishop. The Tongan Council of Churches, established in 1973 (under the auspices of the World Council of Churches), consists of the Free Wesleyan Church, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Church of England. The Free Church and the Church of Tonga have not become members of the Council of Churches. 795 779 796 793

The Church has felt itself fortunate in the quality of overseas ministers and teachers who have served in Tonga in this century. A full list appears in the appendix. Special reference is made to the following:— 793 797

Ernest E. V. Collocott, M.A., B.D., Litt.D., served in Ha'apai, and also as Principal of Tupou College, beginning the new section at Nafualu with English as the medium. His published works in Tongan history and anthropology were accepted in the Bishop Museum, Honolulu, and other learned societies.

/87 cont./

764 kie-kie lou fau (252)
531

252. Compare p. 323-324.

or sisi kakala, (253)

253. Compare p. 82-84.

mounted between sticks. Some graves are also decorated with borders of [177] shells or beer /88/ bottles, and in the vicinity of European settlements or at the suggestion of a white pastor, the Tongans have begun using crosses and other European-type grave structures of cement (less often 764 cast iron). The graves of Protestants, Catholics and members of the [794] rest of the faiths in Tonga are the same, except that they have [184] separate graveyards. The graves of chiefs usually differ from the [565] resting places of commoners in size and more elaborate decoration. The graves of the royal family are situated in Nuku'alofa; they are made of concrete and in shape are reminiscent of the large langi, (254)

254. Compare W.C. McKern, Archaeology of Tonga /cited in English/. p. 30ff.

the famous grave structures of the old Tu'i Tonga.

764 The village graveyards with their more of less disintegrated,
178 largely unornamented mounds of light sand are a development of recent times. In olden times, when most of the people lived scattered on the various islands, commoners buried their dead on their plantations. (255)

764 255. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 201.

After arriving at the grave the mourners sing a hymn, the pastor [533] reads from the Bible (for example, Psalm 90), and the deceased is [779] lowered into the pit which is spread with tapa (over the old skulls) of a mat (for example, fala paongo),. Then follows the sermon which [533] includes the life history of the deceased. More hymns are sung. Over the corpse, which is usually covered with an additional mat (fala paongo), the grave is closed with a slab. The "eldest" turns